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ABSTRACT

This study examines the coverage of the Rosenberg case in the "New York Times," "Chicago Tribune," and the "New Orleans Times-Picayune," from 20 May until 22 June 1953, the month prior to the execution. These three major metropolitan dailies represent different geographical areas and political orientations. It was hypothesized that bias was shown in the use of inflammatory headlines, anticommunist labels, and stereotypes; the lack of coverage of actions by defense attorney Bloch; and the more frequent reference to government officials and prosecuting attorneys than to defense attorneys and Rosenberg supporters. The study found that all three newspapers reflected some anticommunist bias, the "New York Times" most subtly. The "Chicago Tribune" made much use of labels and inflammatory headlines, appearing to reflect the strongest bias of the three papers. The "New Orleans Times-Picayune" obtained most of its material from the wire services; little bias was reflected in its news stories. The study concludes that journalists did reflect the biases of their day in the coverage of the Rosenberg case. (Author/JM)

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Coverage of the Rosenberg Case

May 20 - June 22, 1953

by

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Background

The United States exploded the first atomic bomb on August 6, 1945, over Japan. Although several nations had attempted to perfect an atomic weapon, the United States had been the first to succeed.

The U.S. government wanted to maintain a monopoly on atomic knowledge, in order to retain its military prestige and superiority over other nations. The U.S. Army, retaining control of atomic installations even after the conclusion of World War II, refused to share atomic knowledge with other nations.[1]

Many civilian American scientists opposed the Army policy of secrecy. Scientist Edward U. Condon wrote in 1946:

> The laws of nature, some seem to think, are ours exclusively, and that we can keep others from learning by locking up what we have learned in the laboratory....
>
> It is sinister indeed how one evil step leads to another. Having created an air of suspicion and mistrust, there will be persons among us who think other nations can know nothing except what is learned by espionage. So, when other countries make atom bombs, these persons will cry "treason" at our scientists, for they will find it inconceivable that another country could make a bomb in any other way except by aid from Americans.[2]

Condon's statements were prophetic. Soon after President Harry Truman's announcement on September 23, 1949, that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic device on or about August 29, 1949, critics of the Truman Administration charged that spies had delivered the atomic secrets to Russia.[3]

"I feel the American people are...entitled to know the facts about the espionage ring which was responsible for turning over information on the atom bomb to agents of the Russian government," stated Representative Richard Nixon of California.[4]

"...Laxity in safeguarding this country against Communist espionage has permitted what were once the secrets of our atomic bomb to fall into the hands of America's only potential enemy," charged Senator Karl Mundt.[5]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) set off to find the atomic spies. A series of arrests was made. Harry Gold, a Philadelphia chemist, was arrested on May 23, 1950. Gold was accused of being the American accomplice of Dr. Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist, by the FBI. Early that year, Fuchs had been convicted of passing atomic information to the Soviet Union.[6]

The Korean War began on June 25, 1950. About three weeks later, on July 17, Julius Rosenberg was arrested in New York City. His wife, Ethel, was arrested on August 11. An indictment was filed against the two Rosenbergs on August 17, charging them with conspiracy to transmit atomic secrets to the Soviet Union through a Soviet consular official, Anatoli Yakovlev. Superseding indictments were filed on October 10 and January 31, 1951, the latter serving as the basis for the trial. The second indictment added Morton Sobell as a co-defendant with the couple.

The third indictment set the time of the conspiracy back to June 6, 1944, during World War II.[7]

Co-defendant Morton Sobell was arrested on August 18, 1950.

The trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell took place March 6-29, 1951, in U.S. District Court, New York City, before Judge Irving Kaufman. Emanuel Bloch, a corporation lawyer, served as defense attorney. Irving Saypol was the prosecuting attorney.

The defendants were found guilty of conspiracy to commit espionage under the Espionage Act of 1917 on March 29, 1951. During the trial, the prosecuting attorney had argued that the defendants' motive for espionage was their ideological attachment to Communist ideals.[8]

On April 5, 1951, Judge Kaufman sentenced both Rosenbergs to death and imposed a 30-year prison term on Morton Sobell, declaring:

> I consider your crime worse than murder.... Your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding fifty thousand and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country....[9]

The judge set May 21, 1951, as the execution date. Because of the many appeals filed by the Rosenbergs and Emanuel Bloch, the couple was not executed until June 19, 1953. The appeals asked for a re-trial, a review of the case, and a reduction of the sentence of death. All were rejected. So were appeals for clemency to Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. The execution followed by four days a 5-4 vote by the U.S. Supreme Court declining to order a review or grant a stay of execution.[10]

On June 16, attorneys Daniel Marshall and Fyke Farmer filed a new motion with Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas on June 16, arguing that the Rosenbergs had been tried under the wrong law. They said the 1917 Espionage Act had been superseded by the Atomic Energy Act, passed after World War II.[11] Justice Douglas granted a stay of execution pending argument of this point on June 17. The Supreme Court had gone on vacation, but Chief Justice Vinson recalled the justices and reconvened the Court to hear arguments on the point raised by Farmer and Marshall on June 18. Following the hearing, the Court vacated Douglas' stay of execution and denied a further stay.

With the execution set at 11 p. m. on Friday, June 19, attorney Bloch asked that the date be changed to Sunday, June 21, after the ending of the Jewish Sabbath, so that the Rosenbergs would not be executed on a religious holiday.

To avoid conflict with the Sabbath, the execution time was moved up from 11 p.m. to 8 p.m. on Friday, June 19. The Rosenbergs were executed at that time. Their funeral took place on Sunday, June 21, 1953, in New York City.

Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter had dissented from the June 19 decision of the Court. Three days after the execution of the couple, he wrote:

> To be writing an opinion in a case affecting two lives after the curtain has been rung down upon them has the appearance of pathetic futility. But history also has its claims.[12]

Problems and Questions

How accurately and completely did the American press cover the Rosenberg case? Did the press present the facts of the case clearly and fairly? Or did press coverage reflect the prevailing anti-Communist attitudes of the era? Did the press echo the views of Senator Joseph McCarthy and others that Communists were traitors?

In The Press and the Cold War, James Aronson wrote of press coverage of the Rosenberg case:

> Rooted in the public mind, thanks again to the press, was a firm conviction that the Russians could not master the technique of atomic fission without assistance from spies in the U.S...the press of the U.S. did its utmost to further the great mid-century conspiracy myth and to create in the public mind the impression that all who sought to counter the myth were guilty of treason, or at least potential treason....
>
> From the day Julius Rosenberg was arrested...the cry was treason.... This false impression was fostered in inflamed headlines, news stories, columns, and editorials....[13]

Walter and Miriam Schneir, two reporters, spent several years investigating the Rosenberg case. In their book, Invitation to an Inquest, they examined press coverage and reaction to the case. According to the Schneirs, there was nearly a "complete consensus as to the guilt of the convicted spies" until August, 1951, when the National Guardian published the first of seven articles that examined the trial and the evidence, "The Rosenberg Case: Is This the Dreyfus Case of Cold-War America?" by William Reuben.[14]

In their books, Aronson and the Schneirs write of press bias in the coverage of the Rosenberg case. They write forcefully and perhaps overstate the problem, but their common contention of media bias is basically sound. It is not surprising that newspeople, both editors and reporters, showed bias against the Rosenbergs in their coverage. Journalists are part of society and accept the norms and values of society, as do most Americans.

In 1951-53, years in which American soldiers died in Korea and American intellectuals and writers lost their jobs because of blacklisting and the McCarthy hearings, the nation was anti-Russian, anti-Communist, and fearful. Dissent was not encouraged. Journalists as part of society often held the same beliefs and fears as other Americans.

In this article, it is hypothesized that news stories and editorials written about the case in 1953 illustrate the following: 1) emphasis on government and official sources, both in direct quotes and as news sources; 2) lack of coverage of most of the activities of the Rosenberg Committee; 3) frequent use of such labels as "Commies," "a-spies," and "traitors," to refer to the couple; 4) judgment by the papers that the defense motions and new evidence presented by attorney Emanuel Bloch did not have high news value; 5) presentation of the opinions, views, and biases of government officials and witnesses against the couple as facts; 6) frequent use of headlines that distort facts or appeal to anti-Communist beliefs and emotions.

News stories and editorials in the New York Times, Chicago Tribune, and the New Orleans Times-Picayune are surveyed for the dates May 20 - June 22, 1953.

These newspapers were chosen from a list of all newspapers at the Indiana University Library for which editions were available for the above dates. All three newspapers are metropolitan dailies of major American cities. They were chosen in order to obtain a geographical and political distribution.

The New York Times is a politically independent East Coast newspaper, known for its detailed coverage of national issues. As most of the events of the Rosenberg case took place in New York City, a city newspaper was needed.

The Chicago Tribune is a conservative Midwestern paper, known in 1953 for its strong anti-Communist stand.

The New Orleans Time-Picayune is a somewhat conservative Southern newspaper, generally listed among the best in the South.

Thus, the newspapers were chosen for their accessibility, geographical distribution, varying readership patterns, and political orientation.

In choosing a month of articles to examine, two time periods were strongly considered: March, 1951, the time of the trial, and May-June, 1953, the month prior to the execution of the couple.

Readings and a cursory examination of the Chicago Tribune coverage during the time of the trial showed that there was little controversy about the trial in March, 1951. There was minimal opposition to the verdict and minimal discussion of the fairness of the trial.

James Aronson[15] and Emanuel Bloch[16] both wrote of the lack of coverage during and immediately after the trial, attributing the lack of coverage to media bias.

The controversy over the trial did not begin until August, 1951, with the publication of the National Guardian articles. The establishment of the Rosenberg Committee in October, 1951, marked the beginning of a campaign to gain

public support for the Rosenbergs.

From their trial to their execution, the Rosenbergs were in the news each time an appeal was filed, granted, or denied. These events were sporadic over the two-year period, until the month prior to the execution when several appeals were filed, discussed, and denied by various courts. During this month, therefore, many news articles and editorials appeared, providing ample material to be examined.

There was an element of drama in the news coverage of the final month of the case, for it was unknown until hours before their death whether they would be granted a stay of execution.

The news stories and editorials of the New York Times, Chicago Tribune, and the New Orleans Times-Picayune from May 20 - June 22, 1953, are surveyed for media bias, according to the six criteria described above.

New York Times

A total of 38 of the 56 articles in the New York Times on the Rosenberg case from May 20 to June 22, 1953 was read for this study. All articles listed in bold type and all others appearing on the front page of the newspaper were read. The Times relied primarily on its own staff in covering the case. Of the 38 articles, 20 were written by staffers without by-lines, 15 by staffers with by-lines, and three came from

the wire services.[17]

The Times covered the case in detail. The case was of local, national, and international news value, and all three news angles were covered in its stories. Because the trial and most of the major events took place in New York City, the Times did not experience difficulty in obtaining information or sending reporters, as needed, to cover events. The articles covered international reactions to the case, e.g., protests and clemency pleas, reactions of Americans, every step of the appeals process, as well as feature stories on the Rosenbergs and their two sons.

Because of the great volume of material in the Times, Times coverage at first seems to be complete. When judged by the six criteria of this study, however, the coverage is seen to be less than complete, inaccurate in places, and often biased

Like many Americans, New York Times journalists viewed government and authority figures as more credible sources of information than Communists and their associates. This bias is reflected in the sources used in the news stories and the frequency of quotes by official sources, compared to the frequency of quotes by the Rosenbergs, their lawyer, Emanuel Bloch, and their supporters.[18]

In a news article on May 24, "Rosenbergs Get Chance to 'Talk'/ Disclosures on Atomic Spying Would Be Clemency Factor, Justice Official Reports," for example, there is only one quote

from a named source, President Eisenhower. However, there are several paraphrased statements from unnamed sources, including "a Department of Justice source."

A 30-paragraph news story on May 26, "Rosenberg Appeal Denied for 3d Time by Supreme Court/ Stay of Execution for Spies Vacated - Mercy Depends on Their Talking," contains quotes from both official sources and Rosenberg associates.

The quote from President Eisenhower, however, appears in the ninth paragraph, while the quotes from Emanuel Bloch appear in the 20th, 25th and 26th paragraphs. A short paraphrased statement from the Rosenberg Committee appears in the final paragraph.

The pattern in the May 26 news story was used in several other Times news stories. Quotes from official sources were placed first in the story, followed by shorter quotes from Rosenberg associates. The Rosenberg Committee was often the subject of a short final paragraph of the story. Thus, bias in news sources and usage of quotes is shown not only by selection of sources and quotes, but by placement of quotes.

One of the very few quotes by the Rosenbergs themselves used in Times stories appeared in a June 3 story, "Rosenbergs Deny Any Guilt As Spies/ Federal Prisons Head Visits Pair in Death House and Asks They Tell of Ring."

In reaction to a plea by the Federal prisons director, John Bennett, to confess their crime, the Rosenbergs said, "Since we are not guilty, we cannot tell them anything about espionage...."

The only news article which contained more quotes by Rosenberg associates than official sources was published on June 22, "Lawyer for Rosenbergs Assails Their 'Murder' At Funeral Here." The article reported the remarks of attorney Bloch at the funeral. Bloch stated that he placed "the murder of the Rosenbergs" at the doors of Eisenhower, J. Edgar Hoover, and U.S. Attorney General Brownell. Bloch also stated that it was "Naziism that killed the Rosenbergs."

This article is the only one in the Times that directly quotes Joseph Branin, chairman of the Rosenberg Committee. Branin described the Committee as "representing a cross-section of America."

Directly following the Branin quote is a quote from Assistant U.S. Attorney James Kilsheimer 3d, in which he states that the Rosenberg Committee "no more represents a cross-section of America than does the national committee of the Communist Party." The placement of the Kilsheimer quote seems to fulfill the purpose of refuting the Branin statement.

It is unclear why the New York Times does not quote the chairman of the Rosenberg Committee in one of its stories until after the death of the Rosenbergs, when the value of publicity was negligible. Such actions would seem to support

Aronson's charges of deliberate bias by the press in covering the case.

The Committee itself is mentioned in only three of the 38 articles read. Two of these articles have already been mentioned.

The third article, "Rosenbergs' Deaths Set for Mid-June," was published on May 30. The Committee is mentioned in the 21st and final paragraph of the story, where its plans to send delegates to the State House to urge an appeal to President Eisenhower are mentioned.

In place of coverage of the Committee, the Times covered European protests to the execution, concentrating on reactions in Paris. Reports on French reaction were published on June 10, 13, 16, 17, and 19. Such extensive coverage is not surprising, for the New York Times is known for its complete coverage of foreign affairs. In this case, the Times was concerned with the reasons for the protests and the effects of such protests on America's image abroad.[19]

Most of these articles reported clemency pleas and protests by Frenchmen. One report, found at the end of the June 16 article "Communist Trickery Charged" analyzed the French reaction as follows:

> The United States Embassy...believes the present Communist effort...to save Julius and Ethel Rosenberg... has exactly the opposite aim in mind.... The Communist theory is thought to be that an appeal for clemency would cause President Eisenhower to be more than ever resolved to maintain the stand he took in denying clemency soon after he assumed office. The personal message that French Communist leader Jacques Declos recently sent to President Eisenhower is cited as an example of how Communists expect the White House to adopt a contrary line so as not to yield to their pressure.

The article discounts any sincere desire for justice by the French protestors, makes the assumption that the protests are a "Communist effort," and develops its own conspiracy theory. The article seems a biased account and analysis of the French reaction.

Although the Times printed short articles on European reaction, it viewed these reactions as Communist-inspired and did not adequately analyze or cover the reasons behind the protests. In this way, its coverage of European protests paralleled its coverage of American protests. This lack of coverage is a sign of possible bias.

As for labels, the Times rarely made use of them. The Rosenbergs and Sobell were usually referred to by their names or by the phrase "convicted atom/atomic spies."

When labels were used, they were usually part of direct quotes by named sources. Rarely were labels part of the text of the news stories.

In describing the two lawyers who filed with Douglas to have the Rosenbergs tried under the Atomic Energy Act, the Times described Fyke Farmer of Tennessee as a graduate of

Vanderbilt University and Yale University Law School and Daniel Marshall of California as a "practicing attorney" with a law degree from Loyola University of Los Angeles. These descriptions appeared in the June 18 article "Volunteers Cited Key Legal Points...." Judge Kaufman had earlier called these two men "interlopers" because they were not hired by the Rosenbergs as their representatives.

On the criterion of labels and stereotypes, the Times cannot be faulted.

Like many other Americans, Times editors assumed that the Rosenbergs were guilty. This was not a surprising assumption as the couple had been convicted of the charges two years earlier.

This assumption is shown in several stories, such as the May 24 article, "Rosenbergs Get Chance to 'Talk'...." and the May 31 news analysis, "Time and the Rosenbergs." The former article stated, "The Rosenbergs were informed... that one possible avenue to an easier punishment might be through telling what they knew of spies and their operations in this country." This statement assumes that the Rosenbergs have something to tell, that they are guilty of participation in an espionage ring.

Though it is understandable that the reporters and editors believed that the couple was guilty, such beliefs may have made it difficult for the Times to take Bloch's defense actions seriously and to give the actions much coverage. The attitude of the Times towards Bloch's actions is shown in the lack of

coverage and the specific adjectives used to describe these actions.

In the 1951 trial of the Rosenbergs, witnesses testifying against the couple stated that the Russian government had given the couple a special console table, to be used for photographing secret information. The Rosenbergs admitted owning a console table, but claimed that the table was a plain one, bought at Macy's Department Store in New York.

Neither contention could be proved at the time of the trial, however, because the table could not be found.

In March, 1953, the console table was found in the home of Julius Rosenberg's mother. It was a plain table, as the couple had claimed.

The defense lawyer Bloch moved for a new trial on the basis of this newly discovered evidence. The New York Times wrote of Bloch's plans in the May 26 story "Rosenberg Appeal Denied for 3d Time by Supreme Court...."

In the 22nd and 23rd paragraphs of this 30-paragraph article, Bloch's plans were mentioned. The placement of this information indicates that the Times did not feel that Bloch's plans were particularly newsworthy.

"The Government is anticipating that Mr. Bloch will try to start the legal cycle rolling again with another move for a new trial based on 'newly discovered evidence," stated the article.

The court would have to be convinced "that Mr. Bloch's new move was not frivolous," in order to grant his request.

The placement of quotes around the words "newly discovered evidence" and the use of the word "frivolous" indicates that the Times did not take the evidence or Bloch's plans seriously. The assumption of the Rosenbergs' guilt is the basis for this attitude.

This attitude towards the evidence is reflected in another article, "Rosenbergs Deny Any Guilt As Spies...." published on June 3.

In the final paragraph of this 20-paragraph news story, the following statement is made: "Mr. Bloch will file...for a new trial based on supposedly new evidence."

The placement of this news item and the use of the word "supposedly" show that the Times doubts that the evidence is new and does not take the plans seriously.

The fifth criterion of bias is the usage of conjecture and opinions as facts, usage rarely made by the Times in the text of its news stories. Instead, quotes by officials were used to offset quotes by Rosenberg associates and to make the statements and assumptions that the Times people, being supposedly objective journalists, could not make.

Again, Times people used officials more often than Rosenberg associates as sources and did not question statements made by officials, however vague they might seem.

An example of this practice occured in the May 23 news story, "Perl Guilty of Perjury in Spy Case, Link to Rosenbergs Now Charged." In the article, Assistant U.S. Attorney Robert Martin told the trial judge that the government is now ready to "link this defendant to the Rosenberg espionage ring directly." When asked about the nature of his information, Martin replied, "I am sorry that we cannot make it public at this time." The Times did not question Martin's unsubstantiated statement.

Times headlines did not appeal to emotions or distort facts. Generally, the headlines were factual and clear. When labels were used, they were attributed to a particular source. An example of this is the headline on a May 20 article, "Perl Once an Active Young Red, Witnesses Say at Perjury Trial."

A list of all the articles surveyed, with the headlines included, can be found in the appendix. This list substantiates the conclusion above about the Times headlines during the month being surveyed.[20]

In conclusion, the Times coverage of the case was detailed and generally accurate. However, bias was shown by Times newspeople in the placement and choice of sources, coverage of the Rosenberg Committee, and coverage of defense motions and new evidence. Occasionally, the articles presented conjectures and contentions as facts. Rarely did the

Times make use of labels, stereotypes, and inflammatory headlines in coverage of the Rosenberg case.[27]

Chicago Tribune

The Chicago Tribune published 31 articles related to the Rosenberg case during the period May 20 - June 22, 1953. Nine of these stories appeared on the front page. The Tribune made greater use of wire service material than the New York Times, using primarily Associated Press copy and and occasionally material from Reuters. The Chicago Tribune Press Service produced six articles, four of them written by Philip Dodd. The Tribune staff produced eight articles.[22]

The sheer volume of material is much less than that published by the Times. The Rosenberg case was not a local story for the Tribune, however, and the Tribune usually carries less national copy that does the Times.[23]

Stories published by the Tribune with a local angle included "Pickets March Here on Behalf of the Rosenbergs" on June 17 and "Ruling on Spies Given Support of Jewish Vets" on June 20.

News stories which focused on the reaction to the case abroad included "U.S. Consul Rejects Pleas to Save Rosenbergs," published on June 17. This story included material from Reuters bureaus in Paris, Geneva, London, Brussels, plus Associated Press material from Guatemala City. The

story focused on protests by such varied groups as a British coal miners union, a group of Belgian lawyers and labor leaders in Guatemala.

Other stories focused on the appeals process and the individuals involved in the process. For example, on June 18, the Tribune published feature articles on Daniel Marshall and Fyke Farmer, the two lawyers who filed a plea in mid-June to have the Rosenbergs tried under the Atomic Energy Act.

When judged by the six criteria of this study, the coverage by the Tribune is blatantly biased in several areas.

Like the Times journalists, Tribune journalists viewed government and official figures as more credible sources of information than the Rosenberg associates. They also reflected their bias in the sources used and the frequency of quotes by official sources, as compared to quotes by Rosenberg associates. Many news stories consisted only of information from official sources and did not even include the token quotes from Rosenberg sources that the Times included.[24]

The May 24 article "Hint A-Spy Team Still Can Escape Chair if They'll Talk" and the May 30 article "Execution Set for Rosenbergs Week of June 15" contained quotes from

government sources only, such as U.S. Attorney J. Edward Lumbard and Judge Kaufman. David Alman, Executive Secretary of the Rosenberg Committee, was used only once as a source, in the June 5 article, "New Evidence on Rosenberg Case Presented." Even in this article, however, direct quotes were not used. All of Alman's information was paraphrased.

Quotes by the defense attorney, Bloch, were used extensively in only two articles "Last Avenue Closed" on June 20 and "U.S. Denounced at Final Rites for Atom Spies/ Executions are Called Deliberate Murder" on June 22. Both of these articles were published after the execution of the couple.

In the former article, Bloch states, "It is my firm conviction that the action of President Eisenhower (in refusing to grant the clemency plea to the Rosenbergs) indicates we are living under a military dictatorship garbed in civilian clothes." In the latter article, Bloch termed the execution "a deliberate murder."

As with the New York Times coverage, the Rosenberg associates were not given thorough coverage until after the execution. In addition, Bloch is given newspaper space not when he is rationally arguing the merits of the case, but rather, when he is expressing grief and anger against the President and the American judicial system.

Connected with the criterion of source usage is the criterion of Committee coverage. Like the Times, the

Tribune did not give thorough coverage to Committee activities. The Committee was mentioned in only one article in the Tribune, the June 5 article mentioned above. Even within this article, however, the ideas and motives of the Committee are not completely covered. "A committee trying to save Ethel and Julius Rosenberg today said it had sent what it called new evidence to President Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell," read the text.[25]

"...The material submitted...was in the form of photostatic copies of documents...." according to Alman. "The Committee's contention that a deal was made between Rosenberg prosecutors and witnesses in exchange for perjured testimony..." was mentioned. The Tribune merely mentions that new evidence was submitted and that the Committee has a theory. The article does not discuss the type of documents, the evidence, nor the Committee's theory.

Unlike the Times, Tribune coverage makes much use of labels and stereotypes. In the June 17 article "Ike Gets Rosenberg Pleas...", for example, the following statement was made: "The visit of Reverend Ridout...at the White House with four other clergymen was one of a series of protests by Communists and others...." This statement lumps the clergymen in the same category as Communists,

without justification. The four clergymen were Reverend Ridout, black secretary of the Baltimore area of the Methodist Church, Dr. B. Loomer,
Dean of the School of Religion at the University of Chicago, Rabbi Abraham Cronbach of Cincinnati, and Dr. Bruce Dahlberg of Brooklyn, New York. The men are not identified by their positions until the seventh paragraph of the article. The above statement, placing them in the same category as Communists, appears in the second paragraph of the story. In the 25th paragraph of the same news story, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are referred to as the "husband and wife spy team" when they meet with their two young sons.

The Tribune makes further use of labels in describing lawyers Daniel Marshall and Fyke Farmer who filed a motion with Justice William O. Douglas in mid-June. In the June 18 article "Aid to Leftists in California Helps A-Spies...." the Chicago Tribune Press Service writes that Marshall "has a long record of supporting leftist causes and appearin in defense of suspected Communists here...has been named as a member of alleged Communist front organizations."

The same type of label and smear by association is attempted in "One Worlder, New Attorney for Atom Spies, Fyke Farmer Busy as Crusader," published on June 18.

Farmer is referred to as "one of the country's most active advocates of world government." Farmer had violated American law, for he refused to pay the part of his income tax that is spent for military items, according to the article.

Justice Douglas is not spared when the Tribune begins to use labels. In "W.O. Douglas Is Justice Who Gives Speeches," June 18, Douglas is described as a "...westerner who likes to climb mountains when he isn't busy holding up the liberal wing of the U.S. Supreme Court."

According to the article, Douglas "makes frequent appearances on public platforms to make speeches sympathetic to radical causes.... (He is the) darling of radical groups who would like to see him President."

In an editorial on June 18, "The Rosenberg Reprieve," the Tribune states that "Justice Douglas was picked as an easy touch by two lawyers who have not even been retained by the Soviet spies.... The Rosenberg affair...has long been reduced to a legal farce by the Communists and their auxiliaries.... A pair of wretched spies who have put the lives of thousands of their fellow citizens in pawn to a treacherous adversary reap the benefit of this week sentimentality. Doubtless that is the way the Communists planned it."

This editorial is full of labels, stereotypes, and assumptions about Justice Douglas, those who opposed the stiff penalty of death, and the Rosenbergs themselves.

As with the Times coverage, the Tribune's editorials and other articles make the assumption that the Rosenbergs are guilty as charged. News articles make it clear that this is the assumption, by speaking of the continual refusal of the couple "to confess...and tell what they know."

For example, in the May 24 article, "Hint A-Spy Team Still Can Escape Chair if They'll Talk," the following statement is made about the importance of a confession from the Rosenbergs: "...an extensive round-up of atom spies has been carried out...(but) some guilty persons may have succeeded in escaping identification...(therefore) it is of more value to the welfare of the country to have information on what its enemies are doing than to exact the life of an offender." These lines, as well as the headline, indicate that the writers believe that the Rosenbergs have information to relate on the spy ring.

The June 4 article, "A-Spies Balk at Confessing to Save Lives," states, "Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, convicted atom-spies, virtually sealed their own doom today, vowing against a confession of guilt 'now and forevermore.' ...With legal appeals virtually exhausted, the Rosenbergs'

last chance of escaping the chair lies in confession and the naming of accomplices in the spy ring...."

The Rosenbergs reply, "History will record - whether we live or not - that we were victims of the most monstrous frame-up in the history of our country.... We were told that if we cooperated, our lives would be spared.... Our respect for truth, conscience, and human dignity is not for sale. Justice is not some bauble to be sold to the highest bidder...."

In both of the above articles, the assumption of guilt is made. In the June 4 article, the Rosenbergs are blamed for their own execution.

As with the New York Times, belief in the guilt of the Rosenbergs made it difficult for Tribune staffers to take the actions of the defense attorney and the Rosenberg Committee seriously. In only one article were the ideas and motives of the Committee covered, "New Evidence on Rosenberg Case Presented," published on June 5. In this article, the text read, "A committee trying to save Ethel and Julius Rosenberg...said today it had sent what it called new evidence...." The text does not term the material "new evidence." Rather it qualifies that label by telling the reader that the evidence was "new" only in the eyes of the committee. The article does not discuss the nature of the material, only that the material was "in the form of photostatic copies of documents."

The criterion of conjecture presented as fact has been included in other sections on the Tribune. By choice of sources and facts, the Tribune slanted its coverage. One article which shows the practice of this misuse of information is "Jet Expert, 34, Gets Five Years in Rosenberg Case; Told Jury He Did Not Know Atom Spies," published on June 6. Perl, a former Columbia University physics instructor, was convicted of perjury on May 22, for denying that he knew Sobell and the Rosenbergs. In this article, Chief Assistant U.S. Attorney Lloyd McMahon states that Perl could have been "of great help in putting an end to Soviet espionage in this country...." Instead, continues, McMahon, Perl chose to lie and "struck a great blow at this country's security and therefore should be punished most severely...." This article does not include a substantive quote from either the defendant or his lawyer. The quote by the government source is never challenged. McMahon's allegations are presented as facts, although they are merely conjectures about the possible value of further testimony by Perl.

The Tribune headlines in the Rosenberg case coverage make use of inflammatory statements and anti-Communist stereotypes. Not surprisingly, the guilt of the Rosenbergs

is assumed in many of the headlines. Biased headlines include "Hint A-Spy Team Can Still Escape Chair if They'll Talk," "A-Spies Balk at Confessing to Save Lives," and "Atomic Spies Die in Chair/ Rosenbergs Pay with Lives for Giving Russia Secrets/ Husband Goes to Death 1st/ No Emotion/ Wife Turns, Gives Matron a Kiss," June 20.[26]

In conclusion, Chicago Tribune coverage of the Rosenberg case shows much bias. In each of the six criteria: source usage, Committee coverage, usage of labels and stereotypes, coverage of defense motions and new evidence, use of contentions as facts, and headlines, the Tribune's coverage showed a bias and a lack of objectivity.[27]

New Orleans Times-Picayune

The New Orleans Times-Picayune published 19 articles related to the Rosenberg case during May 20 - June 22, 1953. Five of these stories appeared on the front page.

The Times-Picayune made greater use of wire service material than either the Chicago Tribune or the New York Times. Sixteen of its twenty articles came from the Associated Press. Three articles were written by staff members.[28]

As with the Tribune, the Rosenberg case was not a local issue for the New Orleans newspaper, and fewer articles were printed.[29] Only one story had a local angle,

"U.S. Red Tactics Assailed in Talk/ Efforts 'To Make Our Laws Look Silly' Charged," published on May 29. The article was an interview with a local politician.

Like the other two newspapers, the Times-Picayune focused the major portion of its coverage on the appeals process and the protests in the U.S. and abroad.

When judged by the six criteria of this study, the coverage by the Times-Picayune is biased, but less so than that of the Chicago Tribune. Considering the strong anti-Communist feelings and the strong advocacy of capital punishment for the couple, as expressed in editorials, it is surprising that the news articles are as balanced as they are.

Like the journalists in New York and Chicago, the New Orleans newspeople viewed government and official sources as more credible sources than Rosenberg associates. In many articles, only government sources are quoted. In the May 24 story, "Rosenbergs Told Talking to Help/ Still Have Chance To Save Lives...." only unnamed sources from the Justice Department are used and quoted.

The June 4 article, "Rosenbergs Vow No Confessions/ Atom Spies All But Seal Own Doom by Action," the Rosenbergs are directly quoted in eight of the article's 16 paragraphs.

Emanuel Bloch and David Alman of the Rosenberg Committee are quoted extensively in the June 7 article "New

Rosenberg Trial is Sought/ Judge Kaufman Will Hear Arguments This Week." The article discusses the new evidence, the console table, and Bloch's allegation that the star government witness, David Greenglass, committed perjury.

David Alman, executive secretary of the Committee, is directly quoted. In discussing an affidavit showing that David Greenglass was being blackmailed, Alman said, "This fact tends to confirm the Rosenberg's contention that Greenglass was in trouble...and threatened to 'get even' because the Rosenbergs couldn't help him."

According to Alman, Greenglass "made a deal" with government prosecutors "in exchange for perjured testimony."

This type of detailed coverage of the Committee's contentions is found in the New York Times articles on occasion, but not in articles in the Tribune. The fact that the Times-Picayune obtained this information from the Associated Press indicates that the Tribune also obtained the same information, but declined to publish it.

The above article was the only one that directly dealt with the work of the Committee. However, in several other articles, i.e., "Rosenbergs Lose High Court Plea...." on May 26 and "Rosenberg Plea at Bottom Again/ Lawyer Starts New Bid to Save Lives" on May 28, Bloch's plans and allegations about evidence and the perjury of other

witnesses is discussed. Again, this material came from the Associated Press and was therefore available to the Chicago Tribune. But the Tribune neglected to use it.

Unlike the Tribune, the Times-Picayune published several articles on foreign protests to the execution of the Rosenbergs. Protests in England are mentioned in "Rosenberg Plea Quickly Opposed" on June 13, and "Atom Spies End Last Week of Court-Allotted Life...." on June 14 mentions world-wide demonstrations in Europe and Asia. The article states that these demonstrations are "probably unsurpassed since the Sacco-Vanzetti case...."

The Times-Picayune made much less use of labels and stereotypes in its news stories than the Tribune, usually referring to the couple as "condemned/convicted atom spies" or the Rosenbergs. In two articles, however, "Rosenbergs Vow No Confessions...." on June 4 and "Atom Spies End Last Week of Court-Allotted Life...." on June 14, the Rosenbergs are referred to as a "husband and wife spy team." But this label is of minor significance and may not indicate a negative bias.

It seems clear that the Times-Picayune newspeople assumed that the Rosenbergs were guilty and that the death penalty was an appropriate punishment. In a May 30 editorial, "'Their' Spies and 'Ours'," the writers argued that the death penalty should apply to all individuals

convicted of espionage, not only those convicted of transmitting espionage secrets. "Lack (of the death penalty) is an encouragement to spies, alien and domestic, implanted or imported...." wrote the editors.

As with the Tribune, the Times-Picayune showed their assumption of guilt when they wrote of confession by the Rosenbergs. In the May 26 article, "Rosenbergs Lose High Court Plea...." writer Wilmot Hercher wrote, "When all avenues of appeal are exhausted, the Rosenbergs might escape death by telling all they know about Red spying in this country."

In writing about the execution in an editorial on June 20, "Rosenberg Decision," the editors stated that the Supreme Court decision "reassured a far greater portion of the public than it dismayed or disappointed."

Unlike the Times or the Tribune, however, the assumption of guilt did not effect news coverage of evidence presented and defense actions. The Times-Picayune gave both sides of the story. Only in editorials was strong bias against the Rosenbergs reflected.

As for conjectures used as facts, the Times-Picayune represented opinion as facts in only one article, "U.S. Red Tactics Assailed in Talk/ Efforts to 'Make Our Laws Look Silly' Charged," published on May 29.

In the article,Warren Olney III, U.S. Justice Department Representative, criticized the defense tactics of the Rosenbergs in a speech at the annual conference of the judges in the Fifth District. Communists are making a concerted effort to use the U.S. courts as sounding boards for their propaganda, Olney stated. "The defense has taken advantage of every single motion...or application for...delay."

The placement of this article is questionable, for the article is a factual reporting of a speech made by a government leader. Other than this article, the newspaper did not represent contentions as facts.

The headlines of the Times-Picayune relayed little anti-Communist bias and little appeal to emotions, as a survey of the articles in the Appendix will indicate. Only the headline of a June 20 article, "Rosenbergs Executed as A-Spies for Russia/ Go to Death in Electric Chair Silently Rosenbergs Die with Lips Sealed," implied that the couple had information to relay.[31]

The coverage of the case by the Times-Picayune was meager and somewhat biased. Officials were used more frequently as news sources. The guilt of the couple was assumed. Yet the newspaper covered the defense motions well, and there was little use of labels and stereotypes.

Few conjectures were presented as facts. Headlines were factual and clear. Coverage of the Rosenberg Committee was minimal, but was more complete than coverage by the Chicago Tribune.[32]

Summary

A Survey of the coverage of the Rosenberg case in the Chicago Tribune, New York Times, and the New Orleans Times-Picayune from May 20 - June 22, 1953, showed great differences among the newspapers in both quality and quantity of coverage.

The Times presented the most detailed and accurate information on the case. Times articles came primarily from Times staffers in New York City, Washington, and Europe. The Times published a much greater volume of material on the case than did either of the other two newspapers.[33]

The Tribune maintained a balance between staff-written articles and wire service articles. The Times-Picayune obtained most of its material from the Associated Press. The coverage was less biased than the coverage in the Tribune.[34]

All three newspapers reflected the biases of their day in their coverage of the case, but differed in the amount of bias, method of slanting the news, and openness about bias.[35]

Bias in the Times was subtle. The news was slanted by choice of sources, placement of news about the Rosenberg Committee, and occasional use of opinions of government officials as facts. The Times rarely, if ever, published openly inflammatory headlines or used anti-Communist slogans or labels. Like the other newspapers, however Times coverage showed that the newspeople, like many people in America, assumed that the Rosenbergs were guilty.

Bias in the Tribune was overt. The Tribune published inflammatory headlines and made use of slogans, labels, and conjectures. The Tribune favored government sources as news sources and rarely mentioned the Rosenberg Committee. All those who protested against the execution were considered Communists...or fools who had been duped by the Communists. Like the other papers, Tribune journalists assumed that the Rosenbergs were guilty.

Bias in the Times-Picayune was low-key. The articles in the newspaper, primarily Associated Press material, favored government officials as sources and contained minimal coverage of the Rosenberg Committee. The newspaper, however, rarely published inflammatory headlines or used anti-Communist labels. While the ideas expressed in the editorials were very much anti-Rosenberg, assuming that the couple were guilty, the coverage was usually balanced.

If one assumes that the Times-Picayune and the Tri-

bune had access to the same AP material, it is clear that the Times-Picayune editors chose to publish the sections of articles which would give a more balanced view of the case.

On the basis of this study, I conclude that the socialization of newspeople affected their attitudes and behavior as journalists when covering the Rosenberg case. In all three newspapers surveyed, there was minimal coverage of the Rosenberg Committee, government officials were favored as news sources over laymen, Communists, and Rosenberg associates, and the guilt of the couple was assumed.

Coverage of the Rosenberg case reflected the strong anti-Communist bias of the early 1950's.

CHART 1

Number of articles sampled from selected newspapers, categorized by sources, May 20 - June 22, 1953

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Own staff (including reporters and editorial writers)	20	8	2
Own reporter	15	4	0
Own news service (reporter unnamed)	0	2	0
Wire services	3	17	17
Other	0	0	0
Total:	38	31	19

CHART 2

Percentage of articles sampled from selected newspapers, categorized by sources, May 20 - June 22, 1953

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Own staff (including reporters and editorial writers)	53	26	11
Own reporter	39	13	0
Own news service (reporter unnamed)	0	6	0
Wire services	8	55	89
Other	0	0	0
Total:	100%	100%	100%

CHART 3

Number of articles sampled from selected newspapers, categorized by type, May 20 - June 22, 1953

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Editorials	1	2	2
Hard news	22	17	15
Features	9	9	2
News analysis	4	0	0
Others (speeches cartoons, ect.)	2	3	0
Total:	38	31	19

CHART 4

Percentage of articles sampled from selected newspapers, categorized by type, May 20 - June 22, 1953

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Editorials	2.6	6	10.5
Hard news	57.9	55	79
Features	23.7	29	10.5
News analysis	10.5	0	0
Others (speeches, cartoons, etc.)	5.3	10	0
Total:	100%	100%	100%

CHART 5

Number of quotes sampled from selected articles, categorized by source, May 20 - June 22, 1953

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Government sources	14	28	8
Defense attorneys	25	13	18
Prosecuting attorneys	34	17	12
Rosenberg Committee	7	0	2
Rosenbergs	4	13	8
Others	91	46	33
Total:	175	117	81

CHART 6

Percentage of quotes sampled from selected articles, categorized by source, May 20 - June 22, 1953

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Government sources	8.0	24.0	10.0
Defense attorneys	14.3	11.0	22.0
Prosecuting attorneys	19.4	15.0	15.0
Rosenberg Committee	4.0	0.0	2.0
Rosenbergs	2.3	11.0	10.0
Others	52.0	39.0	41.0
Total:	100%	100%	100%

CHART 7

Number of quotes per article, categorized by source, sampled from selected articles, May 20 - June 22, 1953

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Government sources	0.37	0.90	0.53
Defense attorneys	0.66	0.42	1.16
Prosecuting attorneys	0.89	0.55	0.79
Rosenberg Committee	0.18	0.00	0.11
Rosenbergs	0.11	0.42	0.53
Others	2.39	1.48	2.16
Average quotes/article:	4.61	3.77	4.26

CHART 8

Rankings of selected newspapers on specific media bias criteria

3 = strong bias shown
2 = some bias shown
1 = minimal bias shown

	New York Times	Chicago Tribune	New Orleans Times-Picayune
Sources used	3	3	3
Coverage of Rosenberg Committee	3	3	2
Use of labels	1	3	1
News value of defense actions	3	3	2
Government opinions presented as facts	2	3	1
Headlines	1	3	1
Averages:	2.17	3.00	1.67

Notes

1. Schneir, Walter and Miriam, Invitation to An Inquest. (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1965), pp. 35-40.
2. Ibid. p. 40.
3. Ibid. p. 52.
4. Ibid. p. 53.
5. Ibid. p. 53.
6. Ibid. p. 70.
7. Sharp, Malcolm. Was Justice Done? The Rosenberg-Sobell Case. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956) p. ix.
8. Schneir, p. 120.
9. Ibid. pp. 168-173.
10. Sharp, pp. x-xi.
11. Ibid. p. xi.
12. Schneir, p. v.
13. Aronson, James, The Press and the Cold War. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 51.
14. Schneir, p. 176.
15. Aronson, p. 51. The author, a New York journalist in 1953, recalls that editors of the New York Times, the New York Post, and the World Telegram refused to meet with representatives of the Rosenberg Committee. "The Herald Tribune, along with every other newspaper in New York, consistently ignored Committee press releases... (and) pleas for clemency from notable figures around the world."
16. Bloch recalled the press attitude in a National Guardian article published on June 29, 1953, after the death of his clients. "I remember very well those first grim days of March, 1951...when every avenue of information and publicity suddenly closed.... Our great newspapers... closed their pages to all news about the victims.... To us of the defense, this was a desperate situation indeed. If the press was closed to us, what chance did we have of raising through public subscription the thousands of dollar needed (for the defense fund)?"

17. See Charts 1, 2, 3, and 4.

18. See Charts 5, 6, and 7.

19. The Times has a large number of correspondents living abroad, so ample coverage of foreign reactions to American events is traditional. The Tribune and the Times-Picayune lack this asset.

20. See Appendix.

21. See Chart 8.

22. See Charts 1 and 2.

23. See Charts 3 and 4.

24. See Charts 5, 6, and 7.

25. "What it called...." A traditional press device to inject opinion without saying so.

26. See Appendix.

27. See Chart 8.

28. See Charts 1 and 2.

29. See Charts 3 and 4.

30. See Charts 5, 6, and 7.

31. See Appendix.

32. See Chart 8.

33. See Charts 1 and 2.

34. See Charts 1 and 2.

35. See Chart 8.

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Appendix

New York Times articles: May 20 - June 22, 1953

"Perl Once an Active Young Red, Witnesses Say at Perjury Trial" by Staff. May 20. 13:4

"Jury in Perl Trial to Get Case Today/U.S. Demands Conviction on All Four Perjury Counts - Defense Assails Move." Staff. May 22. 12:5

"Perl Guilty of Perjury in Spy Case; Link to Rosenbergs Now Charged" by Milton Bracker. May 23. 1:2

"Rosenbergs Get Chance to 'Talk'/Disclosures on Atomic Spying Would be Clemency Factor, Justice Official Reports." Special to the New York Times. May 24. 27:3

"News of the Week in Review - Perl and Rosenberg Case" by Staff. May 24. IV 2:6

"Rosenberg Appeal Denied for 3d Time by Supreme Court/ Stay of Execution for Spies Vacated - Mercy Depends on Their Talking." by Jay Walz. May 26. 1:5

"New Execution Stay Denied to Rosenbergs." by Jay Walz. May 27. 1:2

"Rosenbergs' Deaths Set for Mid-June." by Edward Ranzal. May 30. 1:1

"News of the Week in Review - Time and the Rosenbergs." May 31. by Staff. IV 2:6

"Rosenbergs Deny Any Guilt as Spies/ Federal Prisons Head Visits Pair in Death House and Asks They Tell of Ring." by Staff. June 3. 28:4

"Perl Gets 5 Years for Lying to Jury/ Rosenbergs Suffer 2 Reverses in Appeals Court - Plea for New Trial Next Step." by Edward Ranzal. June 6. 7:1

"Atom Spies Renew Appeal at Capital/ Rosenbergs Ask the Supreme Court to Reconsider Its Third Refusal of Review." Special to the New York Times. June 10. 10:6

"Urey Asks President to Save Rosenbergs." Special to the New York Times. June 13. 1:8

"Rosenberg Ruling Likely Tomorrow/ Spies' Plea for Stay Studied by Supreme Court - Bomb Threat to Judge Issued." by Paul P. Kennedy. June 14. 1:2

"News of the Week in Review - Rosenbergs" by staff. June 14. IV 2:7

"High Court Denies A Rosenberg Stay; New Plea Up Today/ Douglas to Hear in Chambers at 10 A.M. What is Seen as Last Possible Legal Step/ Justices Differ on Case/ Clemency Appeal to President Planned - Counsel to Visit Condemned Spies." by Jay Walz. June 16. 1:1

"Communist Trickery Charged." Special to the New York Times. June 16. Page 19.

"Atom Chief Asks Mercy." Reuters. June 16. Page 19.

"Ruling by Douglas in Rosenberg Case Delayed to Today/ Justice Spends 12 Hours in His Study of Plea for Stay for Condemned Spies/ Ministers See President/ They Report He Indicated He Would Not Ease Sentence/ Poland Offers Asylum." by Luther Huston. June 17. 1:1

"Rosenbergs Gain a Stay; Review Set/ Court Acts Today/ Douglas Grants Delay on Basis of Doubt the Sentence is Valid." by Luther A. Huston. June 18. 1:1

"Justice Douglas' Order Staying Death Sentences of the Rosenbergs." by Justice William O. Douglas. June 18. 16:4-6

"Volunteers Cited Key Legal Points/ Two Lawyers Not in Rosenberg Counsel Assailed Validity of Kaufman Sentence." by Staff. June 18. 17:1,2

"Court Hears Spy Debate; Rules Today/ Case Seen in Peril/ Rosenbergs May Fight Indictment if Death Sentence is Upset." by Luther A. Huston. June 19. 1:1

"Spies 'Overjoyed' by News of Delay/ Sing Sing Prepared to Carry Out Sentences, Now Awaits Further Court Action." by Staff. June 19. 8:3

"Five to Study Impeachment/ House Names Sub-Committee to Consider Douglas Case." Special to the New York Times. June 19. 8:3

"Many Abroad Ask Mercy for Spies/ Vatican Radio Says Catholics Sympathize with Clemency Moves/ Pleas are Cabled." by Staff, from reports from abroad. June 19. 8:6

"Rosenbergs Executed as A-Spies After Supreme Court Vacates Stay; Last-Minute Plea to President Fails." (Banner headline.) June 20.

"Six Justices Agree/President Says Couple Increased 'Chances of Atomic War'" by Luther A. Huston. June 20. 1:5

"Eisenhower is Denounced to 5000 in Union Square Rally." by Staff. June 20. 1:6

"Pair is Silent to End/Husband is First to Die/ Both Going Composed to Chair." by William Conklin. June 20. 1:8

"Spy Case A Story of Legal Battles/ Rosenbergs' Death Sentences Signaled Court Maneuvers Exceeding Two Years/ Climax by 'Interlopers'/ Plea to Douglas Raised Point That Kaufman Had Barred - Clemency Denied Twice." Staff. June 20. 6:1

"1 Shot, 400 Jailed in Paris Protests/ Rosenberg Supporters March in London, Picket U.S. Offices in Many European Cities." by Staff, from reports. June 20. 8:2

"Chronology of Spy Case." Staff. June 20. 8:3

"Nation Acts to Counter Soviet Use of Rosenberg Deaths in Cold War." Associated Press. June 21. 1:5

"Three Rabbis Discuss Rosenbergs' Fate/ Clemency Failure Regretted, Verdict Held Justified and Anti-Semitism Deplored." Staff. June 21. 11:1

"News of the Week in Review - The Rosenbergs." Staff. June 21. IV 1:7

"Case of the Rosenbergs Will Long Be Debated/ Legal Aspects World Wide Interest and Influence Brought to Bear Make the Case Memorable/ Position of Justice Douglas." Arthur Krock. June 21. IV 3:1

"Story of the Rosenbergs - Two Links in the Atomic Conspiracy/ Chair of Evidence, Starting with the Arrest of Fuchs, Tied the Couple to the Soviet Espionage Ring." A. Raskin. June 21. IV 6:1

"Lawyer for Rosenbergs Assails Their 'Murder' at Funeral Here. William Conklin. June 22. 1:1

Chicago Tribune articles: May 20 - June 22, 1953

"Quiz Shows" editorial cartoon by Parrish, Chicago Tribune. May 20. page 20

"Hint A-Spy Team Can Still Escape Chair if They'll Talk." AP. May 24. page 2

"Rosenbergs' 3d Plea Denied/ Highest Court Vacates Writ Staying Death." Philip Dodd, Chicago Tribune Press Service. May 26. page 1

"Vinson Denies New Rosenberg Plea for Stay." AP. May 27. page 1

"Fight to Save A-Bomb Spies Starts Anew." AP. May 28. page 1

"Execution Set for Rosenbergs Week of June 15." AP. May 30. page 3

"Execution Set, A-Spies Refuse Offer of Mercy/ Reject U.S. Request for Espionage Data." AP. June 3, page 14

"A-Spies Balk at Confessing at Save Lives." AP. June 4. page 1

"New Evidence on Rosenberg Case Presented." AP. June 5. page 5

"Jet Expert, 24, Gets 5 Years in Rosenberg Case; Told Jury He Did Not Know Atom Spies." June 6. page 7

"Rabbi Assails Humiliation of American Flag." Special to the Tribune. June 15. page 11

"Ike Gets Rosenberg Pleas, Hears Clergy Present One; Another Filed, 2 A-Spies Await Douglas Action." AP. Washington. June 17. page 1

"Pickets March Here in Behalf of Rosenbergs." Staff. June 17. page 2

"U.S. Consul Rejects Pleas to Save Rosenbergs." Reuters and AP. June 17. page 2

"Court to Review Spy Stay, Vinson Calls New Session for This Noon, Acts in Appeal on Douglas Ruling." by Philip Dodd, Chicago Tribune Press Service. June 18. page 1

"2 Rosenbergs Happy at New Stay of Death." AP. June 18. page 6

"Aid to Leftists in California Helps A-Spies/ Attorney Marshall Heard at Red Hearings." Tribune Press Service, Los Angeles. June 18. page 7

"W.O. Douglas Is Justice Who Gives Speeches." Chicago Tribune Press Service. June 18. page 7

"One Worlder, New Attorney for Atom Spies, Fyke Farmer Busy as Crusader." Special to the Tribune. June 18. page 7.

"Text of Ruling by Douglas in Case of Spies, Grants Stay to Hear New Argument." by William O. Douglas. AP. June 18. page 4

"The Rosenberg Reprieve." Editorial Staff. June 18. page 16

"Court Delays Spies' Death, Justices Put Off Decision Until Today, Execution May Be Later in Week." June 19. page 1

"Atomic Spies Die in Chair/ Rosenbergs Pay with Lives for Giving Russia Secrets/ Husband Goes to Death 1st/ No Emotion/ Wife Turns, Gives Matron A Kiss." AP. June 20. page 1, 9.

"Traitor Next Revealed by British Case, Fuchs' Trail Led to Rosenbergs." Tribune Staff. June 20. pages 1, 4, 5

"A-Spies Toyed with Lives of Millions: Ike Says Rosenbergs Added to Peril of War." AP. June 20. pages 6, 7

"The Rosenberg Story: Product of New York Slums." AP. June 20. page 8.

"Ruling on Spies Given Support of Jewish Vets." Staff. June 20. page 8

"Last Avenue Close." Philip Dodd, Chicago Tribune Press Service. June 20. page 9

"Family Takes Spies' Bodies to Brooklyn" AP. June 21. page 1

"U.S. Denounced at Final Rites for Atom Spies/ Executions are Called Deliberate Murder." AP. June 22. page 5

"Ex Post Facto Law Is Now Out of Fashion." Staff Editorial. June 22. page 18

New Orleans Times-Picayune articles: May 20 - June 22, 1953

"Rosenbergs Told Talking to Help/ Still Have Chance to Save Lives, Says U.S." AP. May 24. page 26

"Rosenbergs Lose High Court Plea/ Counsel to Ask Stay of Execution, Rehearing." by Wilmot Hercher, AP. May 26. page 9

"Rosenberg Plea At Bottom Again/ Lawyer Starts New Bid to Save Lives." AP. May 28. page 33

"U.S. Red Tactics Assailed in Talk/ Efforts 'To Make Our Laws Look Silly' Charged." Staff. May 29. page 15

"'Their' Spies and 'Ours'" Editorial. May 30. page 6

"Rosenbergs Vow No Confessions/ Atom Spies All But Seal Own Doom by Action." AP. June 4. page 4

"New Rosenberg Trial is Sought/ Judge Kaufman Will Hear Arguments This Week." AP. June 7. page 10

"Rosenberg Stay Denied by Court." AP. June 12. page 1

"Rosenberg Plea Quickly Opposed." AP. June 13. page 3

"Execution Stay Asked for Spies/New Review for Rosenbergs is Asked." AP. June 14. page 20.

"Atom Spies End Last Week of Court-Allotted Lifespan; Door to Salvation All But Closed for Couple." Arthur Everett. AP.-NY. June 14. page 20

"Clemency Asked for Rosenbergs/ Throngs Demonstrate Near White House." AP. June 15. page 16

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